553 852 Naming the child. -- It is then that the child is named. A choice is made among several names by drawing straws. In the tribes of the Aïr, when there is a dispute over the choice of a name, each of the parties present brings a small goat and secretly gives it the preferred name. The mother, who does not know who has donated each goat, chooses the one she likes and has it slaughtered. [674] The child must then bear the name which had been given the goat for the occasion. Then a meal is served to the people of the camp [431] and to the guests, and a present is given to the marabout if one came.

[302] The same day the newborn's hair is cut for the first time, and the marabout places an amulet around his neck.

551 /284/ The names given to children are quite varied and sometimes very whimsical. They observe customs like those of the American Indians, and so the parents take into account certain fortuitous circumstances which surrounded the birth. We have seen a young girl who bore the name of Tédigrès, meaning "hail," because there was hail at the moment she came into the world. Others bear the names of animals such as Ănaba, the panther; Ăbagui, the jackal; Acotey, the jerboa; Tinirt, the antelope; Ăhenkatt, the gazelle, etc.

[177] Because of Arab influence, the Tuareg have adopted many names taken from the Bible and Arabized, e.g., Moussa from Moses, Firhoun from Pharaoh, Younès from Jonas, etc.

They also bear very ancient names which come to them through tradition and whose meaning and origin they are ignorant of: Akhamouk (masc.), Amastane (masc.), Yklou (masc.), Chékou (fem.), Tinguelous (fem.). (1)

1. This name may come from the Latin angelus.

From then on the child has his father's name joined to his and keeps it all his life. There are no family names and marriage does

846 751 /120 cont./ is said that a woman will never again bear children if, during a delivery, she turns the foetal pouch inside out. Another cause of sterility is being hit by the tail of a uran.

845 Deliveries generally take place very well, but there are accidents, the percentage of which is not known; either the infant dies or puerperal fever is contracted. The Tuareg are completely powerless against such accidents resulting from childbirth.

852 553 /121/ On the seventh day of his life, the infant receives his name, the occasion for a celebration to which all the close relatives are invited. A great meal is served, followed by tendi and ilougan. It is an honor to be the godfather and to give the infant its name; this honor is paid for in gifts (alouf). When several persons are candidates for the position of being the godfather, the winner is chosen by drawing straws.

854 As do all the mothers of the world, the Tuareg woman coddles her baby, covers it with caresses, is touched to hear it cry, and sings it to sleep: "O hare, bring slumber, my baby won't sleep." As soon as he can walk, the infant gets to know the camp; he wanders around the tents, plays with the black servants near the fire, learns to talk, and remains very attached to his mother, who, day after day, teaches him the customs. The daily observation of the customs makes the child very obedient and very respectful.

857 868 At about the age of five, the young imrad Targui beings to follow his brothers or sisters as they tend the goats. The young nobles follow their Negro shepherd. The child thus learns to know his country, the paths, the plants, the animals, and their habits. An old servant will point to a track on the sand and say: "Here's your father's camel, and this track is that of the female camel that just gave birth."

During his comings and goings across the pastures, the desert life engraves itself on his memory. He notes the track of the gazelle on the sand and that of the cheetah in pursuit. "Look," says the old slave, "in spite of the slyness of the

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

428 sister, and his mother (or his mother's mother). At the death of the unmarried man one sixth of his fortune is given to his mother (or to his mother's mother), and the remaining parts are collected and re-divided into three parts, two of which are given to the brother, one to the sister.

(7) An unmarried man who has lost his father but has alive his father's father, his father's brother, and his mother (or his mother's mother). At the unmarried man's death his fortune is divided into six parts, one of which is given to his mother (or to his mother's mothers) while the remaining five parts go to his father's father.

Patrilineal rules predominate in the system of inheritance. With the exception of the mother (or the mother's mother), who inherits one sixth, no matrilineal relative can inherit a deceased person. If a deceased person has no mother or mother's mother alive, all property left is inherited by patrilineal kinsmen, and even very remote relatives in the paternal line have inheritance rights. Bissuel states [114] that sisters' children can inherit (Bissuel 1888, p. 110), but the Tuareg I have asked in Ahaggar (and in Ayr) denied this.

428 643 Furthermore, it is claimed in Ahaggar that if a deceased person of the *Kel Rela* drum-group has no patrilineal relatives alive, his fortune is taken over by the *Amenukal* with the exception of one sixth in case the mother or the mother's mother of the deceased person is alive. The *Amenukal*, however, [632] will not keep livestock thus inherited for himself, but will leave it in the tribe to which the deceased person belonged, and the animals will be under the supervision of the tribal chief who has usufructs of them. Livestock thus inherited by the *Amenukal* is known as *éhéré wa n eɣɣebel* ("the fortune of the drum-group)", or *éhéré wa n butelma* ("the fortune of the public"); cf. p. 400).

422 It appears from the rules of inheritance just mentioned that domestic animals are owned individually, and almost everybody among the Tuareg is a stock-owner. Even little children (boys and girls) may [858] own a few animals which are given them by their parents and their close relatives on various occasions, [553] e.g., on the naming day seven days after birth. The offspring of these domestic animals also belong 422 to the children who own them, but milk, butter, meat, and the like derived from the animals should 592 serve the needs of the household to which the children belong. Within the household the husband and his wife also have their individual animals. Husband and wife can freely kill or sell the animals they own without asking permission of each other, but the meat and the money acquired from sold animals should serve the benefit of all members of the same household. A household forms an economic 422 unit of closely related stock-owners.

*233 All Northern Tuareg use ear-marks, cut with a knife, for their goats and sheep. There are a great many types of cuts which have particular names. I have noted some of these marks among the Ahaggar [114] Tuareg (Fig. 100). But I did not investigate this subject in great detail as it is considered very impolite [578] to ask a man about ownership of goats (cf. p. 41 f.). The cuts illustrated Fig. 100 are all family marks [602] so that each mark is used by several patrilineally related persons. But though the Tuareg know their goats and sheep by sight a small and not very deep cut is frequently added to indicate individual 422 ownership. The earmarks are preferably cut when kids and lambs are weaned (cf. p. 37) at which *233 time superfluous male animals should also be castrated (cf. p. 118). All true vassals of Ahaggar mark 565 their donkeys with earmarks similar to those used for goats and sheep, though in one vassal tribe (the *Dag Rali*) donkeys are also branded with a redhot iron, like camels. The noble Tuareg of Ahaggar

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

Fig. 164. Pail (*érir*) made from tinned brass by blacksmiths. It is used for storing butter to be used for food preparation in the tent. Pails of this type form part of the dowry in the *Dag Rali* tribe. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs of Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.155 m high, 0.230–0.235 m in diameter at the rim. (N.M. G. 5820).

they perform a sacrifice, the idea of which seems to be an identification of the man and the killed animal. This idea appears most clearly at the sacrifice made on the occasion of the name-giving feast seven days after the birth of a child. A marabut, that is a Tuareg of the *Ineslemen* class, and the father of the child stand close together with their faces towards Mecca while the animal to be sacrified is kept to the ground. The marabut cuts the animal's throat and doing so cries out the name to be given to the child, and this name is thereupon repeated by the child's father. When the killing is performed in this way the knife (*elmust* in Ahaggar; *ézegiz* in Ayr) and the cut across the throat are washed with water before skinning is undertaken. I have dealt with certain ideas of Tuareg sacrifice elsewhere, and have stated that on certain occasions they may sacrifice not to God but to the *Kel Asuf* spirits (Nicolaisen 1961, p. 122 f., 147 f.). But whatever may be the ideas attached to Tuareg sacrifices all animals, with the exception of the camel (cf. above p. 65), are killed by cutting their throat.

The methods of meat preparation are almost identical in Ayr and Ahaggar. The most common method everywhere is cooking in an earthen pot, known in Ahaggar as *ufrun*, *téɣirt*, *alekkin*, or *talekkint* according to its size and form, or in a metal pot (*érir*) of European origin. Such European pots are common everywhere in Tuareg camps, but earthen pots are still used though less durable, for earthen pots are cheap. Pots made of metal or copper, which are also known as *érir*, were also found among

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

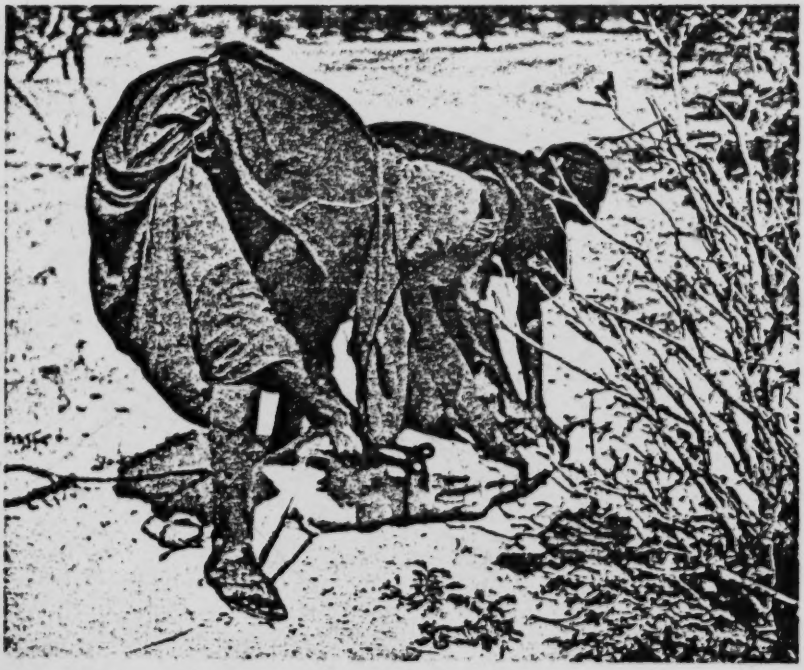

Fig. 170. Sacrificing a goat at the naming ceremony called *isnowen*. A marabut and the child's father keep the animal firmly to the ground. They stand with their faces towards Mekka and the camp of the new-born child. The marabut cuts the animal's throat simultaneously crying out loudly the child's name which is thereupon loudly repeated by the father. Ayr, the *Iguddéyuen* tribe.

Harratin (*Izeggaren*) of Tidikelt, and it is now also found in Tuareg camps (Fig. 182), where it is less frequent than the above-mentioned saddle quern. The handmill was entirely unknown among the Ajjer Tuareg during my visit to Tasilé-n-Ajjer in 1952. The Tuareg who possess handmills obtain them from the sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar (Tamanṛaset). – When saddle querns or handmills are used, a piece of cotton or skin (*asentel* in Ahaggar) is always placed under the grinding stones to catch the flour (Figs. 180, 182).

The Tuareg have many different vegetable dishes. The most important are bread, porridge, gruel, and various mixed beverages.

Bread is a prominent dish for all Northern Tuareg who bake it mainly from wheat flour. Wheat bread has been my ordinary dish among all Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer. Lhote states that